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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART I

"PRELUDE TO MUKDEN"

(6 march 1930 - 14 Sep 1931)

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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART ONE: PRELUDE TO MUKDEN

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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

1. The Prince Kimmochi Saionji - Baron Kumao Harada Memoirs constitute an invaluable source of hitherto unknown information on Japanese politics during the critical 1930's, a period during which the hope of a liberal, democratic Japan faded away before the ever increasing ascendency of the military and the ultra-nationalists.

2. Prince Kimmochi Saionji, who served four Emperors, was the last of eight Genro, the Elder Statesmen of the Realm who acted as the highest councillors and advisors to the throne. From 1924 until his death on 24 November 1940 at the age of 92, Prince Saionji was the sole supreme advisor to the Emperors Taisho and Hirohito. He was consulted by the Throne on all critical state affairs, particularly on the choice of succeeding premiers.

3. Baron Kumao Harada, member of the House of Peers before his death on 26 February 1946 at the age of 60, was the private secretary of Prince Saionji during the Prince's latter years, years in which old age forced the Prince to avoid visitors as much as possible. The Baron acted as liaison between the Prince and important statesmen, politicians, etc., meeting them constantly to obtain information on current behind-the-scene political activities. His findings he reported weekly to the Prince.

4. No notes or memoirs written by Prince Saionji himself covering the 1930's are known,

The Prince did not want any of the political and state secrets which he possessed to become public. His will expressly prohibited the preparation of an official biography lest the revelations therein "produce disastrous, unpredictable effects in future ages". However, Baron Harada believed that the Prince's historical position was too important to be lost completely to future generations, and that if it were not recorded, much unnecessary confusion and possibly misleading historical criticism might result. He therefore dictated weekly the information listed in paragraph (a) below to Viscountess Yasuko Konoye, wife of Viscount Hidemaro Konoye, younger brother of the late Prince Konoye. The Baron's activities were not unknown to Prince Saionji however, for the Baron turned over his dictated notes to the Prince for corrections and additions. And in spite of the Prince's attitude toward an official biography, the Baron contemplated the future official publication of the Memoirs, though not for "one hundred or more years after the death" of Prince. (See Chapter 378 of the Memoirs for evidence supporting the preceding statement.

a. The information dictated weekly by the Baron includes:

(1) Prince Saionji's important statements to the Baron.

(2) The Baron's activities as the Prince's secretary and liaison-man.

(3) All information obtained for the Prince by the Baron in the latter's liaison capacity.

5. The Saionji - Harada Memoirs cover the period, 6 March 1930 to 21 November 1940 and are written in unpolished, unliterary, colloquial Japanese. After Baron Harada's death in February of this year, their loan was secured by Lieutenant Colonel Paul Rusch, Chief, Special Activities Branch, CIS, G-2, a friend of the Baron, his family and his intimate associates. They were turned over to Lieutenant Colonel Rusch by a high official of the Imperial Household and were microfilmed immediately. One print was forwarded to the War Department through the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, GHQ, AFPAC. Five sets of photostatic enlargements were made from a second print and were used by translators of the Special Activities Branch.

6. A thorough background knowledge of Japanese history for the period covered by the memoirs is necessary for their complete understanding. Their translation therefore represents a very difficult achievement. Members of Special Activities who engaged in their translation were assisted by historical and political specialists acting as advisors. Some errors may be noted, but as far as possible a faithful translation has been made, within the capacity of available translators.

7. Special credit is given to Mr. Mikio Asano, an American-born post-graduate student who spent the war years in his studies at Kyoto Imperial University. He brought to the work of translation a unique understanding of the political, sociological and nationalistic factors which led Japan into war.

8. For his generous gifts of time and technical advice to the Special Activities Branch, special thanks are given Mr. Ton Satomi, intimate friend of Baron Harada and well-known Japanese author who had been commissioned previously by the Iwanami Publishers to edit the memoirs at such time as they could be published.

9. Without the faithful, conscientious, high-calibre work of the American military and civilian personnel of Special Activities Branch, the 400 odd chapters of the memoirs could never have been translated and their publication now would have been impossible.

PAUL RUSCH,
Lieut. Colonel, M.I.
Special Activities Branch
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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 1
(13 July 1931)

Army Opposition to Armaments Reduction

Translated by Mikio Asano

A disarmament conference is scheduled to be held next year in February at Geneva. In regard to this conference, the Japanese Army maintains the attitude that:

"The national (and international) circumstances of Japan will not permit any further reduction of armaments. In view of the fact that the expansion of Russia necessitates the protection of (Japanese) interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, and that China is continuously disrupted by (internal) upheaval, there is no room for any further reduction in arms. We can never rely on Parliamentary politics (to solve this situation). Manchurian and Mongolian (interests of Japan) which have been fained under the Imperial plans of the Emperor Meiji are Japan's vital first line of defense. For the defense of these special interests (of Japan in Manchuria and Mongolia), Japan can under no circumstances agree to a reduction of armaments."

The Army is spreading propaganda saying that:

"The purpose of Russia's 5 Year Plan is to prepare for military expansion in the Pacific area; Russia is menacing Japan, and may be secretly planning to wage a war to avenge her defeat in the Russo-Japanese War."

On the other hand, the Army is also spreading propaganda that: "China's plan for reclaiming Port

*Parenthesis inserted by Translators.

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Arthur and Dairen has progressed to a serious extent." The mighty Army organization as a whole has begun actively to disseminate propaganda.

The Cabinet is seriously vexed at this attitude of the Army; it is worrying as to what means should be employed to cope with the situation. Prince Saionji also is very apprehensive; he told me to observe closely and to report the development of the situation in detail to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Grand Chamberlain.

The War Minister was absent from the Cabinet meeting held in the first part of July; he had gone on a trip. Thereupon, SUGIYAMA, Vice-War-Minister, desired permission for the Military Affairs Bureau Chief, KOISO, (in the absence of the War Minister) to speak at the following day's Cabinet meeting on Russia's 5 Year Plan and on the situation in Manchuria and Mongolia. Premier WAKATSUKI was notified of this request.

He (WAKATSUKI) planned to have the Army spokesman speak after dinner (subsequent to the Cabinet meeting) was over; however, this was inconvenient for some of the Ministers. Therefore, because the Cabinet meeting ended (earlier than expected) before dinner-time, KOISO, Military Affairs Bureau Chief, was summoned from the War Ministry. He talked for about 1½ hours. He suggested that the 5 Year Plan of Russia might be mainly for the increase of (Russia's) national wealth and the development of her industries. Nevertheless, the Army in reality is considering the matter from a purely military point of view and is interpreting

it (5 Year Plan) as a scheme for increasing armaments for (Russia s) eastward expansion. When he (KOISO) said that Russia is going to expend 20,000,000,000 rubles in the first year and 90,000,000,000 rubles during the 5 year period, the Finance Minister (INOUE, Junnosuke), questioned him (KOISO):

"You are saying that Russia is going to spend 20,000,000,000 rubles a year; but under the present (economic) circumstances how can she (Russia) raise the money? Where can she obtain the money? From what sources can Russia in reality obtain the sum of 90,000,000,000 rubles in the 5 year period? Does the Army really know that Russia has raised or is raising the necessary funds?"

KOISO, Military Affairs Bureau, answered: "I do not know."

The Finance Minister (INOUE, Junnosuke) questioned him (KOISO) further: "On this sort of practical matter, nothing can be said about the feasibility of the plan unless the relevant practical data are available. Consequently nothing can be understood without a more scrupulous investigation of the fundamental facts of the matter. Russia now has a tremendous population of 150 millions; of this number, approximately 2 to 2½ millions are members of the Communist party. I believe that Russia s enlargement of armaments is not directed towards other nations for imperialistic purposes -- as the Japanese Army seems to think - but toward internal (political) objectives. The Communist party, with a mere 2 million members, needs armed forces to execute its doctrines and policies

smoothly. Therefore Russia is enlarging her armed forces as a means for dealing with internal nation[illegible] affairs. I believe that it is correct to interpret it (enlargment of armaments) as being mainly an internal national policy for enforcing the (Russian) government's (Communistic) doctrines and policies on the 150 million people of Russia, excepting the Communists. I believe that Russia can't turn her attention towards the outside world. Russia may have an army of approximately 560,000; however, consider whether these soldiers are really all Communists. From among a mere 2 or 3 million Communists, it's impossible to get 560,000 soldiers. Consequently, no doubt, among the soldiers there are non-Communists (who would be unreliable). Without a detailed investigation of the above-mentioned facts, aren't the opinions of Military Affairs Bureau Chief, KOISO, meaningless?"

KOISO was unable to reply to any of these questions. He had brought a (statistical) chart, which he showed to the Cabinet members; this indicated that during the 5 year period, Russia is going to expend 1,300,000,000 yen (on armaments), whereas Japan's expenditure (on armaments) is to be a mere 100,000,000 yen (for the same period of years). SHIDEHARA, Foreign Minister, questioned him:

"Were the Russian figures for (armament) expenditure translated in terms of yen? By what exchange rate are you quoting the (Russian) figures in terms of yen?"

KOISO was also unable to reply to this question. Consequently KOISO's talk at the Cabinet meeting was

the object of the Ministers' ridicule. The object of KOISO's lecture was not realized. KOISO returned to the War Ministry greatly disappointed.

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Saionji -- Harada Memoirs

Chapter 2
(16 July 1931)

Army and Kokuhonsha

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

According to the views of the men within the Army, they are prepared to fight with their backs to the wall. It seems as if the plan is that when the War Minister returns from Hokkaido on the 12th, he will report to the Throne at Hayama on the 15th on the matter of personnel administration. At the same time, he will mention the reformation of military administration and the fact that the Army will not be able to do anything beyond this. The plan also seems to include the Imperial Reception of the Chief of the Army General Staff on the 14th when he will express like views on the plans for national defense and reform of military administration.

I heard that since they cannot go back on anything which is reported to the Throne, they are going to negotiate with elements in the government which are not of the Army. I reported this general situation to the Prince and he said, "It would be well to caution the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain and the Imperial Household Minister about this at once ---."

Therefore, I met the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, KIDO, and he went to Kamakura. I intended to have either KIDO or myself speak with the Grand Chamberlain, but according to the desire of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, KIDO went from Kamakura to Hayama and spoke with the Grand Chamberlain in detail.

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The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seals message was: "When the Chief of the Army General Staff reports to the Throne, regardless of the nature of his report, the Grand Chamberlain must warn the Emperor so that he will not get too involved." Thereupon, the Grand Chamberlain reported this matter to the Emperor immediately that night.

KIDO left on the afternoon of the 13th and returned very late that night from Hayama. On the night of the 13th, a newspaperman came to my place and reported the fact that the Chief Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor was to be the commander of the Sixth Division, Lt. Gen. Sadao ARAKI. I was very intimate with Lt. Gen. ARAKI but he was an idolizer of Baron HIRANUMA and a prominent figure in the KOKUHONSHA. However, to have such a person serving so close to the Emperor is a serious matter from one point of view and very dangerous.

On the morning of the 14th, I met the Prince and told him of this matter. He said: "Recently, the moves to place HIRANUMA in the Imperial Household have become very open. Just recently, when Kisaburo SUZUKI came to my place, he said that he would like to have Baron HIRANUMA placed within the Imperial Household Ministry. I am concerned over the fact that the Imperial Household Minister may be fooled."

The Prince said that it would be well to caution the Imperial Household Minister immediately so I had thought of writing a letter to Hayama. However, the Imperial Household Minister had returned to Tokyo and I spoke with him over the phone. I also visited him

at the Imperial Household Ministry and spoke with him in detail.

The Imperial Household Minister said: "Before the change in the Chief Aide-de-Camp, there should be some consultation with the Army. At the present time, I have no idea as to what type of men there are in the Army, or what type would be suitable."

Thereupon, I went to the War Ministry and met Col. INOUE, and looked at the Army List in secret. As it is today, even the Army thinks that Lt. Gen. ARAKI is a follower of HIRANUMA. The Army says that Lt. Gen Senjuro HAYASHI, Commander of the Chosen Army, is the most suitable man for the position. If not he, then Lt. Gen. KAWASHIMA, the Commander of the division at Nagoya. At the present time, there are no others. I immediately called the Imperial Household Minister on the phone and told him about this.

By these indications, even in the matter of disarmament, it is clear that the extreme right-ist KOKUHONSHA is maneuvering in concert with the Army. I believe that it is very troubling that these problems arise, both directly and indirectly.

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 5
(21 July 1931)

Imperial Apprehensions

Translated by Lieut. Daichi L. Ishihara

The present Chief Aide-de-Camp, MIRA, was planning to resign in order to make way for his juniors, but at the earnest requests of the Imperial Household Minister and others, it was decided that he remain another year.

The Imperial Household Minister conveyed the following message to the Prince through the Grand Chamberlain: "Do not worry yourself over this matter because we will be extremely careful and not make any errors."

I met Premier WAKATSUKI around the end of June and he said to me: "I just reported the facts of the Korean problem to the Emperor. The fact is, I had thought of going to report to the Emperor immediately when the Hoko Incident occurred, the day before yesterday, but my Cabinet colleagues convinced me that it would not do to have the government appear too confused, so I put it off. However, the papers carried the news and since the Emperor would be very anxious over it, I reported the facts to the Emperor."

"Thereupon, the Emperor asked me: 'You are proceeding with Sino-Japanese goodwill as the keynote in the matter of the Manchuria-Mongolia problem, are you not?' and to this I replied: 'Of course we are proceeding with Sino-Japanese goodwill as the keynote.'"

I believe that the Emperor's inquiry can be taken to mean that the Premier had understood, that is, we must proceed with Sino-Japanese goodwill as the

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keynote; but it may be construed to mean that Sino-Japanese goodwill is desirable but that it might be better to take firmer action. This meaning is the so-called "weak-kneed diplomacy". Again it seems as if the Army had used various organs and had advised the Emperor of the faults of "weak-kneed diplomacy".

SHIRATORI was very concerned over the fact that when he gives lectures in the presence of the Emperor, the Emperor has questions such as, "How is the 5 Year Plan of Russia proceeding!" He believes that the Chief and the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff have interpreted the plan as of a military nature and spoken of it to the Emperor. Whether it was because I had heard these things or not, the Premier's story sounded rather strange.

That night, I met with KONOYE, SHIRATORI and HAYASHI of the SEIYUKAI and after HAYASHI had left, the three of us discussed this matter.

The following day, I met the Foreign Minister and he said: "A little while ago, Takeo TANAKA came and told me that he, HARADA, and KONOYE had talked of various matters. At that time, he said, HARADA had spoken intuitively of the meaning of the Emperor's questioning of the Premier."

I then said: "I did not meet Takeo TANAKA last night. No matter how intimate I am with the matter of the Premier and the Emperor, it is not to leak out to the members of the political parties. It must have been SHIRATORI."

The Foreign Minister said that SHIRATORI had come

but that it was TANAKA. I told him that that was a mistake. He then said: "When I went to the Birthday party of the Empress Dowager at Akasaka Palace a while ago, I spoke with the Premier, but his interpretation was not like yours. Therefore, I immediatly called TANAKA and spoke of this matter." I again told him that I had no memory of saying anything to TANAKA.

Then I went to SHIRATORI's place and he said: "I spoke of that matter to the Foreign Minister when I met him day before yesterday, and he has that confused because he had such a gracious inquiry from the Emperor and I said: 'That is wrong. When HARADA heard it from the Premier, he immediately thought that Sino-Japanese goodwill was fair and proper, but that deep consideration must be given the matter of Manchuria. That was his conception of the Emperor's wishes.' The Foreign Minister then said that there was no such thing."

Later, when I investigated, I found that TANAKA had come and spoken to the Foreign Minister about Army disarmament and that he had confused this incident with SHIRATORI's visit. I spoke of this matter in detail with the Premier and he was greatly relieved. I also spoke of this matter to the Prince.

The Prince had also been very anxious over the wishes of the Emperor. On either June 15 or 16, the Vice-Chamberlain had come over, representing the Grand Chamberlain, and said that the Emperor was of the firm determination that in the matter of China and Japan and also of Manchuria and Mongolia, we

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must proceed with Sino-Japanese goodwill as the keynote. By this, I clearly found out that the Emperor's wish was of the meaning as interpreted by Premier WAKATSUKI and Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA. I also reported this to the Prince.

The Prince then said: "Bear in mind the fact that the Grand Chamberlain sent the Vice-Chamberlain in his place."

I also spoke of this matter with the Premier and the Foreign Minister.

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Saionji – Harada Memoirs

Chapter 4
(30 July 1931)

Young Officers' Movement

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

The Army was vigorously publishing, in magazine and book form, treatises on such things as the importance of the Manchuria-Mongolia problem and of Russia's 5 Year Plan. They were allotting money and making attempts at all sorts of propaganda. For instance, they had Mr. HOSODA, of the KOKUMIN SHIMBUN quit his position and had him immersed in the writing of agitative literature for the Army. Furthermore, the War Minister said that they were to gather all the divisional commanders and the army commanders on the 3rd and 4th of August, instruct them as to the conservatism of the Army after telling them of the reformation of military administration, and also of the seriousness of the prevailing ideologies. This meeting was not convened because of these two reasons alone, but it seems as if they (the Army) are utilizing this opportunity to have them (the commanders) spread Army propaganda within the areas under their jurisdiction.

When I went to meet the War Minister on July 27, I read in the MIYAKO SHIMBUN that there had been a meeting of young officers at the Army Club (KAIKOSHA). They had agreed to form a union and they were resentful over the slowness of the senior leaders of the Army and said that they would whip them on. The meeting was adjourned after discussion of the Manchuria-Mongolia problem and also of the Russian problem.

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Therefore, I asked the War Minister: "I believe that the actions of the young officers of the Army at the Army Club are not very agreeable, but just what is your opinion on this matter?"

The War Minister replied: "I believe that it is a very troublesome matter and I have just called in Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau KOISO and cautioned him sharply about it. As you say, the maintenance of military discipline is a very important matter."

The War Minister went on further: "It is very improper to criticize one's predecessors, but the Army at the time of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars was very high-handed. Because of this, they prejudiced the public against them and they were thought of as useless; and today, the political parties are apt to make requests of the Army. Of course, the young officers of the Army do not know anything of this high-handedness of their predessors.

"Regardless of the fact that we are serving with complete obedience, if we look at the actions of the members of the Diet that say that we are participating in the affairs of state, there will be exposed a shameful condition which cannot be tolerated. While enduring this situation of the Diet's and society's point of view and having them say that the Army is useless, it is inevitable that the young officers become indignant and say that they cannot look on with indifference when they have come along so patiently and cautiously.

"As you say, no matter how large a force we should have, we cannot uphold the prestige of the National Army if military discipline is lax. As you specifically mentioned, the Imperial Guead Division of the First Divisicn charged with the defense of the Capital is thoroughly prepared in view of the present situation, so I would like to have you reassure the Prince upon this point as well as on the matter of military discipline."

According to the information which reached me later, the Army has taken a firm attitude and it seems as if they are going to oppose the government and the political parties. Bot Ccl Saburo INOUYE and the Vice-Minister of War are very worried over the fact that the gap between the Army and the government is widening.

In the War Minister's talk, I had heard that the attitude of the leaders of the Ministerialists (Yoto) was not very agreeable and I thought that it would be well to speak with the Minister of Home Affairs about it at once. Therefore, at about nine, on the morning of the 27th, I talked with the Home Affairs Minister for about an hour before the State Ministers left to pay their respects to the Emperor at Hayama.

I told Home Affairs Minister, ADACHI: "The Ministerialists (Yoto) are irresponsibly and indiscriminately stressing such things as the revision of the pension laws and the thorough readjustment of the Army. How would this injure

the feelings of the Army which is in such a nervous state today and perhaps things which were possible would become impossible because of their feelings. I would like to have you caution against this irresponsibility of the Ministerialists."

The Home Affairs Minister agreed with me but he also thought that a united front must be presented against the men who were planning an interim cabinet, whether it be SEIYUKAI or MINSEITO, or else party politics would not be complete.

Furthermore, since there are those so-called bureaucratic aspirants who incite the Army and emphasize the repudiation of political parties, we must be very careful.

Just today, the Hague Treaty had been referred to the Privy Council for deliberation, and as expected, they planned to make trouble for the government with the Hague Treaty by saying such things as: "The actual taking of reparations from Germany and the affiliation with the Reparations Clearance Bank before Imperial consultation constituded an encroachment upon the supreme power; or that the other 5 powers of Europe had made the Treaty effective without waiting for the ratification by Japan and that this was an insult to Japan. In other words, the foreign policy of Japan was very poor——." Because of the very practical and sensible explanation of the government, the committee approved safely on the 28th of July.

Young Officers' Movement

I thought that this atmosphere and that of the Army were linked somehow.

Saitonji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 5
(8 August 1931)

Minami v. Shidehara

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

On the 3rd and 4th of August, a gathering of Divisional Commanders and Army Commanders was convened and they were given instructions. The contents of those instructions appeared in the newspapers. They cursed the present political world and also touched upon the Manchuria-Mongolia problem.

Excerpt from the August 5, 1931 issue of the

NICHI-NICHI SHIMBUN

MINISTERIALISTS INDIGNANT OVER THE INSTRUCTIONS

OF THE WAR MINISTER

HIGHLY INSOLENT ACTIONS

"Within the lecture of the War Minister MINAMI, during the conference of the Army Commanders and Divisional Commanders on the 4th was the following:

"Those outsiders in irresponsible positions are apt to observe and venture to say what the Army is blind to the present state of the nation and are making exorbitant demands. Or they dare to debate and propagandize the National Army unfavorably by advocating reduction of arms without investigating all the circumstances."

The MINSEITO are very indignant over what they term the insolent attitude of the War Minister, and the younger members in particular are saying, "Although military strength is an essential element of national defense, to trifle with words such as "military strength is the only element of national defense"

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is only serving to isolate national defense and the people. Of course, in the matter of finance and economics, they are outsiders and perhaps we should sympathize with them, but in such distressed times as the present, we must correct such errant ideas. Furthermore, in regard to national defense, they advocate total mobilization when it is necessary and when unnecessary. they call the people irresponsible outsiders. This is all very outrageous."

The demands of the Ministerialists in regard to the readjustment of military administration are outrageous but they are very indignant because they believe that they will not attain even a tenth of their expectations if the government does not proceed with full determination in matters such as the revision of the pension laws and the readjustment of military administration.

GIST OF THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE WAR MINISTER

MEETING OF THE ARMY COMMANDERS AND DIVISIONAL COMMANDERS

on the 4th

The contents of the readjustment of military administration plans calls for the minimum demands for the reconstruction of the Army. Regardless of the fact that the realization of these plans calls for great sacrifices, these outsiders in irresponsible positions venture to say that the Army is blind to the present state of the nation and is making exorbitant demands. Or, they dare to debate and propagandize the National Army and the nation unfavorably by advocating reduction of arms without a thorough investigation of all the circumstances. Furthermore,

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there are many who instigate disarmament within the nation by taking advantage of the people who are feeling unrest over financial and economic matters. The commanders will cooperate with the authorities concerned and correct these fallacies, and in conjunction with this, they will use their initiative to drive home the necessity of gradual readjustment and its reasons to the areas under their jurisdiction. It is desired that the utmost effort be expended to bring about the understanding and cooperation of the people and the Army who are loyal to the nation and the Imperial Household.

The Mongolia-Manchuria Problem

In spite of the fact that the Manchuria-Mongolia areas have a very close connection with the existence and expansion of the Empire, defensively, politically and economically; it is regrettable that recent situations indicate tendencies unfavorable to the Empire and emphasize the importance of the matter. The chief factors which brought about this situation were the loss of national prestige through the transition of international relationships concomitant with the decline of the national morale of Japan, and the anti-foreign national sovereignty reclamation movement of China, nurtured and propagandized for years along with China's new economic expansion into Manchuria and Mongolia. This is not a temporary phenomenon; it must be recognized as being permanent. Those holding positions in the Army must exert themselves in their education and training. They must be prepared to discharge their duties perfectly.

(end of article)

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The Premier said: "This matter of the outsiders, etc. is not too important and should end with nothing but a few complaints, but should it affect the Manchuria-Mongolia policy, its effects would not be very favorable. It would be well to summon the War Minister and caution him on these matters immediately, but since it is just before the time that the budget will be set up and since I also believe that the War Minister might say that he cannot serve any longer and resign, should I caution hom. I think that I should not say anything just at the present time."

I was going to Gotemba on August 6 and on the way, I visited the Premier at his official residence in the morning and he said: "There is to be a Cabinet conference today and it will be the first time that I will meet the Foreign Minister and the War Minister since then. However, just before the meeting, I am going to call on the Foreign Minister and ask him not say anything to the War Minister concerning his lecture attacking our foreign policy."

Later, when this incident happened, Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA said: "If I start to speak, I will not be able to go back on my words, and since it would not be very advisable to say anything about it, looking at it from the political outlook of today, I shall remain silent."

However, just before the Cabinet conference, the War Minister came to the room of the Premier and very awkwardly said: "Did you have something for me?"

The Premier replied: "No, nothing very special."

The evening editions had written the story up so.

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that it appeared rather important and also that there had been some sort of dispute between the War Minister and the Foreign Minister.

Previous to this, I went to the Palace, since Prince HIGASHIKUNI had just come to Tokyo and at that time, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau KOISO had gone there and had spoken at length with him. I told Intendant MATSUMOTO: "I would like an audience with the Prince either today or tomorrow. If possible, I would like to have him come for lunch. So will you please ask him?"

I had planned on having OKABE, KIDO and HAKAGI come also, but because HAKAGI and KIDO had previous engagements, they could not make it. Then that night, I called the Prince by phone directly and asked him; "There are only OKABE and myself so shall I invite someone else?" The Prince replied: "I would like to speak with you very frankly, so I think the three of us would be better. Let us not ask anyone else."

On the following day, the 2nd, I went after the Prince at 12:30 and went to the foreign-style residence at SUMITOMO's villa. There, the Prince, OKABE and I talked on various subjects until around 4:30 that evening.

The Prince said: "Didn't Governor-General of Korea, UGAKI, attempt a coupe d'etat during the session? A certain young officer of the Army came to my place and told me: 'UGAKI is a very ambitious person. He had planned to effect a coupe d'etat at the session, but I did not hear of the details.

"The Army has requested that I return to Tokyo

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but since it is less bothersome in Nagoya, I think that I will last it out there for another year or two. The other day, the Chief Public Procurator and Vice-Chairman of the Privy Council HIRANUMA, as the chairman of the Mental Training Society (SHUSEIDAN), came over. They asked for my presence at their meeting, but since it was very bothersome, I went to the races and did not attend. However, later, the Chief Public Procurator came over and said: "It is a very outrageous thing for you to lack sufficient reasons for declining and say that you are going to the races, especially after Vice-Chairman HIRANUMA had come all the way to Nagoya to ask you." I will probably be criticized, so I think that I shall stay in Nagoya a while longer."

CRABB and I told the Prince: "It is all right for the Army to attack the political parties so long as they limit themselves to attacking the bad qualities of the parties, but they must give thorough consideration before they attack them to a point where they would be upsetting the basic system. It is not a matter of the system but of the people behind it. If you are not careful, there will be many interests which will make requests of Your Highness, planning to use you in some way. We would like you to be very careful along those lines." Finally, at around 4:00, we parted.

This young officer mentioned in the Prince's talk ------ well, among the violent enthusiasts in the association for officers of the grade of Captain, there is one in the 3rd Regiment under the command

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of the Prince which is under the jurisdiction of the Nagoya Brigade. Since all this uproar was not conducive to military discipline, OZAKE and I told the Prince: "In any case, maintenance of discipline in the National Army is the most important thing. You must have cautioned them fully about this. As long as there are such men among your subordinates, unless you will unrelentingly preserve order, a difficult problem arises, because you will set a precedent and the others will handle it in like manner."

I went to Gotemba on the 3rd and spoke of these things. The Prince (SAIONJI) advised that it would be well to speak to the Grand Chamberlain, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Imperial Household Minister about the situation in general.

On the evening of the 4th, I went to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's place and spoke with him on this matter, and returned home.

I had Saburo INOUYE come over that night and we talked on various matters. I had heard from the Prince of the coup d'etat of UGAKI. Kaku MORI of the SEIYUKAI had also mentioned something of a dangerous incident during the session, although he did not go so far as to say that UGAKI was involved. I did not know the details, but since it seemed rather old, I asked INOUYE about it.

INOUYE said: "I would like to have this matter kept strictly confidential. I know all about it because my good friend Lt. Col. SUZUKI of the Military Affairs Bureau made strenuous efforts. By this

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means, matters were settled peaceably. The fact that the War Minister cannot rebuke the younger officers for banding together is traceable to the fact that they said such things.

"Within the Diet, there are, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, NINOMIYA, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau KOISO, and Chief of the Second Section of the General Staff Headquarters TAIEKAWA; under these three, there are Lt. Col. SHIGETO and Lt. Col. HASHIMOTO, who are authorities on Russia. One of these, HASHIMOTO, had intervened and together with Shumei OKAWA had bound the TAISHUTO closer to General UGAKI. The general plan was to throw the Diet into confusion on a certain day in March so that the Diet could not adjust itself. They were to have Gen. UGAKI as their leader even temporarily and have him take over the position of Premier by saying that party government was this way and that parliamentary government was no good. This plan was all very simple and childish. The principal planners were Lt. Gen. NINOMIYA and the two others. The ones who exerted their efforts to link the TAISHUTO with the plan were the two section chiefs.

"NINOMIYA, KOISO and TAIEKAWA invited Lt. Gen. SUZUKI to the official residence of the War Minister and told SUZUKI: 'Since the situation is such and it is an order of the Minister, you must go to MORI, Keko of the SEIYUKAI, explain the situation and arrange it so that the Diet will be thrown into confusion.' SUZUKI replied: "That is very insulting. Such actions are very bad and I will never go on

such a mission.' SUZUKI explained thus to the 3 Lt. Generals and both Maj. Generals, and the incident ended there. However, the two Section Chiefs of the General Staff Headquarters who had endeavored to link the IAISHUTO. Shuney OKAWA and UAAKI were very indignant and they were at a loss to meet this situation.' Because of such incidents, Lt. Gen. MINOMIYA, KOISO or HATTAWA could not restrain their subordinates. Because of this, it developed that the young officers who had become disgusted over the trend of the times decided to unite: that is, they attempted to form a union under the pretense of investigating the Manchuria-Mongolia problem, and they could not be restrained.

"The War Minister is apologizing to the Cabinet and explaining that he did not make such strong statements as the newspapers reported, but the truth is that he did, and it seems that he is coming out very strongly against the leaders."

Finally, I was able to understand the coup d'etat of Gen. UGAKI completely.

Another thing mentioned in INOUYE's talk was: "This is also confidential, but when Prince KAN-IN went to Hokkaido as the President of the ZAIGO GUNJIN, he came upon some manifestos circulated by the young officers and he was very concerned. He suddenly returned on the night of the 5th and summoned the War Minister and told him: 'From the standpoint of discipline, you must caution against these things.' The War Minister was very much embarrassed by this and immediately called the

Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau and made complaints and gave instructions, but it seems that nothing at all came of it. How would it be if Prince KAN-IN cautioned the War Minister and the Chief of the General Staff about the matter of military discipline since he is so worried over the matter?"

The following morning, I spoke with the Premier and then went to Prince SAIONJI's place at Gotemba.

The Prince said: "I had heard about these things vaguely, but I did not know that it was so serious. It comes as a great surprise and it is very important. You must speak with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Prince CHICHIBU, Prince KAN-IN, the Imperial Household Minister and the Grand Chamberlain about this matter. It is not very good to use the Princes as tools, but it is just as the Chief of the Naval General Staff used Admiral TOGO and Prince CHICHIBU during the time of the London Treaty. It is not a very agreeable thing to do, but I think that it would be well to have their Highnesses know the facts of the matter.

"It is also necessary to have the Emperor informed by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. At any rate, if the War Minister knows the facts of this matter, that is, of the coup d'etat of UGAKI, it might not be so good, but on the other hand, if he does not know very much about it, it might be better. You must confer with KONOYE and KIDO and after careful consideration, we must have these so-called chief instigators, the Deputy Chief of the General

Staff, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau KOISO and Maj. Gen. TATEKAWA resign when there is an opportunity. Just how would we have them resign? If these three should risign, then Gen. UGAKI would also be forced to resign as Governor-General of Korea. We must do something."

I then said. "You asked me to speak with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Chief Aide-de-Camp in detail, but if I speak with the Chief Aide-de-Camp, it will get directly to the Army, so I think it best not to speak with the Chief Aide-de-Camp at all."

The Prince said: "That is so."

In my plan, I thought that I would have KONOYE come over from Karuizawa and speak with him on this matter and then have him speak with Prince CHICHIBU in Osaka; then as for Prince KAN-IN, Marquis KIDO, rather than myself; both KIDO and I would speak with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he would in turn inform the Emperor. I spoke of this plan with the Prince and left for Tokyo.

When I returned to Tokyo, I met the Premier and also Railways Minister EGI.

Then, on the night of the 6th, I had INOUYE come over again and we discussed various matters. He said: "The attitude of the War Minister is not very pleasant. Outwardly, he is all apologies and his attitude of yesterday and today seems to have been very hastily adjusted. I was at the Seiyoken in Ueno until now, and as the host, the War Minister said: 'At these critical times, we

must endeaver to realize our ideals by uniting together.' Gen. OKATA then said in very high spirits: 'I understand the instructions of the Minister very well. I believe they are of very profound meaning. We must unite and support the Minister and proceed with firm determination. This an exceptional case but, I would like to propose a toast and three cheers for the War Minister.' I observed this and in my heart, I was very worried."

On the 10th, KONOYE and OKABE went home, and it was decided that KIDO, INOUIE and myself would hold a secret meeting

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Chapter 6
(17 August 1931)

Tokugawa Yen for Revolution

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

However, on the 10th, I received a wire from KONOYE saying that because of poor facilities, he could not return on the 10th. Thereupon, I postponed the meeting until the 12th and sent notices to that effect.

On the 8th, I invited Admiral OKADA to the Horyu and I told him: "I would like to caution you on the matter of the Army from the standpoint that it is part of the military."

On the 9th, I went to Gotemba and reported the situation and returned. Although, OKABE said that the 12th was inconvenient for him and that he could not return, KONOYE, KIDO and INOUYE had no previous engagements, so it was decided that they would come at six o'clock. Around five, Lt. Colonel YASUDA, who had been the former aide to Prince HIGASHIKUNI came with a message from his father-in-law, General FUKUDA. It was about a marriage proposal and after this business had ended, he asked: "Do you know about the bomb incident of the UGAKI Faction?" I replied that I did not know too much of it.

He then said: "Thirty bombs (maneuver use type) were stolen from Artillery School during the session and handed over to the TAIKOSHA. The general plan was for the TAIKOSHA and the TAISHUSHA to join and have Lt. Colonel SHIGETO make direct contact. On around the 20th of March, they were to

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surround the Diet, throw things into confusion and disturb the peace of the Capital: then have martial law declared and have General UGAKI take over. 100,000 Yen of the money was put up by a member of the TOKUGAWA family, Yoshichika TOKUGAWA.

"I also know that on the night previous to when this was to be executed, SHIGETO took the members of the TAISHUSHA and the TAIKOSHA to Yoshiwara. It is said that the Army found out about this incident and they are very indignant over it, especially, Lt Gen. ARAKI."

From six o'clock, INOUYE, KONOYE and KIDO came over and we had dinner together. We talked of various things and I mentioned the story of YASUDA.

INOUYE said: "That is all true. It is a wonder that YASUDA knows all about it. If YASUDA knows so much about it, the story must have spread to various places." He was very worried.

INOUYE and I told KONOYE and KIDO about everything. INOUYE said: "We must stir up some movement within the Army to dissolve this matter. If we make NINOMIYA, TATEKAWA, and KOISO resign now, it would not be very pleasant because it might stir up the feelings of the Army and appear to be a reprisal measure. Therefore, it would be better to proceed so that such problems will not arise and these actions will not continue.

"There is an organization called the SAKURA-KAI, in which NINOMIYA, TATEKAWA and KOISO are participating. It would be well if this organization

were dissolved and since these three are at a loss and appear to be very troubled, it seems as if they are regretting something. Therefore, I asked KOISO about this and he understood.

"Before I explained this matter to KOISO, I looked around the various parts of the Army and it seems as if there are quite a number sympathizing with the movement to dissolve this matter, since they are going to put more energy behind this movement for a while longer, and to observe the drift of the situation. We should delay informing the Emperor and Princes CHICHIBU and KAN-IN for a while and watch the trend of the times carefully and not commit any rash acts."

Everyone agreed to this.

Then KIDO said: "Concerning the matter of the Privy Council, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal firmly believes that Prince SAIONJI is in favor of allowing 5 of the Chief Vassals to take over the vacancies in the Privy Council in order to increase its importance. This is indeed a very vexing problem---"

Therefore, I told KIDO: "Since you are to see the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal tomorrow to talk over the subjects discussed tonight, I would like to have you say the following to him in regard to the matter of the Privy Council: 'You say that Prince SAIONJI is in favor of putting the Chief Vassals into the Privy Council, etc.., but as I hear it from KONOYE and HARADA, the Prince has always advocated that it is not good to have such a body as

the Privy Council which has no guarantee of responsibility intervene in political matters indiscriminately. Not only this, but it will not be good for the future to give it any power politically and for the past ten years, there has been a gradual lowering in standards in the selection of a Chairman for the Privy Council. I would like to cut down their strength and with the passing of time, make it so that people in such positions will not be able to usurp political power. The Privy Council does not want to exert any positive action and this plan of FUJAKAMI and HIRANUMA which was presented to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal by Aisuke KABAYAMA; that is, the appointment of Chief Vassals as Councillors; is directly opposing the assertions of the Prince, so the Prince would not be in favor of it. KONOYE and KIDO were saying that perhaps you were mistaken when you said that the Prince approved.'"

Since a meeting between the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Prince was a pre-requisite, we parted on the agreement that they would meet.

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Chapter 7
(21 August 1931)

New Strength for Privy Council?

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

(Notes appearing on cover of Chapter 7)

-The misunderstanding of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal concerning the matter of the Privy Council.

-The concern of the Premier over the misreported seriousness of Prince SAIONJI.

-HIRANUMA's visit to Gotemba.

-Lunch between Baron HARADA and Admiral OSUMI.

-Visit to Gotemba on the 18th

On the following day, KIDO met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and told him: "KONOYE, HARADA, INOUYE and I had a meeting last night and we came to the following conclusion: 'It would be best if it could be arranged so that such actions would be checked from within the Army. INOUYE and the like are undertaking such actions, and we decided that it might be better to look the situation over before reporting it to the Emperor, or to Princes CHICHIBU and KAN-IN. On the matter of the Privy Council, it is the firm contention of Prince SAIONJI, according to KONOYE and HARADA, that it is not good to have political power vested in some organization without any guarantee of responsiblity.

'Since possession of excessive power by the Privy Council and the House of Peers is not conducive to the advance of government, there is a necessity to weaken these organs. In spite of the

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fact that the ability of the presidents of the Privy Council has dropped since the time of the SAITO, Komei Cabinet, the present Privy Council is having its own way because of its great power. Looking at the matter of adding the Chief Vassals to the Privy Council from the viewpoint of the contentions of Prince SAIONJI — that is, the addition of men such as KIYOURA, Count YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo YAMAMOTO, Korekiyo TAKAHASHI and Minoru SAITO — it is contrary to his contentions and there is no reason for his approval. That is what KONOYE and HARADA had to say.'

"The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal then said: 'That is very odd. It certainly seemed as if the Prince was in favor of it. Since this is a matter between the Prince and myself, please do not delve into the matter too deeply.'"

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal continued: "I am not very clear as to the reasons why General UGAKI stopped midway in the matter of the Army. It is very odd that he stopped only at the advice of Lt. Col. SUZUKI."

KIDO was asked by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "Please be very careful on the matter of the Army."

I met the Imperial Household Minister that day and he said: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal came a while ago and said: "I cannot understand the reasons why the Prince is against the matter of the Privy Council. It is really odd.' He seemed firmly convinced that the Prince was in favor of it."

I then said to the Imperial Household Minister:

New Strength for Privy Council?

"It is very necessary for the Prince and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to meet at this time."

I was intending to meet the Premier the following morning and speak with him on the various matters discussed last night. Also to await further developments and leave for Gotemba either that night or the following day. However, when I went to meet the Premier early that morning, he was very worried and said: "I have heard from a very reliable source that the Prince has been very ill since yesterday and that they had summoned doctors from Tokyo. It was also said that the family of SAIONJI was keeping it confidential. Is this true?"

I said: "I called Gotemba this morning on some business and the Prince seemed in very good spirits, so I think that it is not true."

The Premier asked me: "At any rate, please go to inquire about it. There is also the matter of the Privy Council and it is a matter of grave concern--"

I replied: "Then, I shall go. However, rest assured on that matter."

I stopped in at KIDO's place and immediately called Gotemba and a servant replied that everything was well there. Thereupon, I called the Premier and assured him that the Prince was in good health.

I left on the 10:00 A.M. train and went to Gotemba. I talked with the Prince on various matters. I mentioned the matter of the Army and the Privy Council. I told him that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was convinced that the Prince was in

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favor of the matter of the Privy Council; also that the Premier was very worried because the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had told him that the matter of the Privy Council looked very favorable and for the government to think the matter over.

The Prince said: "If the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is going to recommend such measures, there was no need for me to have intervened in behalf of the Premier------. I wonder why the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal made that request of me."

I said: "It would appear more convincing if you spoke with the Premier and if you were in favor of it, it would be a matter of 'killing two birds with one stone.'"

The Prince said that Vice-President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA had come over that morning because he said that he was staying at Nagaoka, but that there was nothing of very much importance. However, there was mention of the Army.

In short it was that the present government was bad and because of it, the order within the Army ranks had become confused. Men such as Lt. Gen. ARAKI, the new Chief of the Military Training Council (Kyoiku-Kambucho) and Gen. MAZAKI, the new Commander of the Taiwan Army, who have the goodwill and respect of the impulsive young officers are quite concerned over the present trends. The situation was that these young officers were so indignant over things at present that even such men could not restrain them. However, HIRANUMA had great praise for Lt. Gen. ARAKI.

The Prince said: "I had heard about ARAKI from

you and so I thought, well———. He said: 'UGAKI is doing well in Korea, is he not? He is a very good man.' I acted as if I did not know anything about the matter. It seemed as if HIRANUMA knew a great deal about the matter of UGAKI. The meeting ended with just the discussion of the Army and I wonder just what HIRANUMA came over for."

I said: "I believe that he heard that you were of the same opinion as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on the matter of the Privy Council and he probably thought that you would say that you were of an opinion similar to that of MAKINO. Perhaps HIRANUMA came as a forewarning to incitement of the Army." At any rate, it was odd.

I stopped in at Oiso and returned to Tokyo. Early the following morning, there was a call from Gotemba to have KIDO sent down immediately. I called KIDO at Zushi and relayed the message. KIDO went to Gotemba that day.

That ncon, I invited Admiral OSUMI to the Horyu for lunch and spoke to him on all the Army matters.

The following day, I met KIDO and he said: "The Prince said that if there have been any demands upon the government directly from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, come and let me know immediately. Please ask the Premier about this."

I asked the Premier about this the following day and there seemed to have been such an incident between the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Premier at the Palace or somewhere, previous to the last meeting between the Premier and the Prince.

New Strength for Privy Council?

There have been no recent incidents or demands by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Since it was a matter that happened before the meeting with the Prince, KIDO thought that it was not necessary to go, so he cancelled his trip.

On the 17th, I visited Railways Minister EGI at the Fujiya Hotel in Hakone, and we spoke of various things. I stayed at Sengokubara that night and went to Gotemba the next morning.

We talked of many things and I said to the Prince: "Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MAKINO met the Premier some time before you met the Premier. There is nothing recent."

I also told him about the situation within the Army and of the fact that the Chief of Staff of Kwantung Army had routed Yen Hsih-Shan from Kwantung Province with the use of airplanes. I mentioned the fact that Admiral OKADA and the officials of the Foreign Office were quite anxious over the recent tendencies of the Army in Manchuria-Mongolia and China which showed that they were attempting to set up some sort of plan.

I returned with a parting message that we must be more careful from now on.

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Chapter 8
(27 August 1931)

Adachi and Minami

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

I returned on the morning of the 19th, and immediately went to the official residence of the Premier and spoke with him on the matters which I had discussed with the Prince. On the 21st, I again went to visit the Premier.

Premier WAKATSUKI said: "I believe that I will ask the War Minister over and again request the Army's deep consideration on the matter of several days past. I would like to have you keep this matter absolutely confidential." I met the Imperial Household Minister after that and he mentioned that the Emperor's wish concerning the floods in China was for the donation of money from the Privy Purse and also that there would be a separate donation to the Japanese residents through the Foreign Ministry.

On my return, I stopped in at Sumitomo and a branch manager of a Sumitomo Bank said: "On the 20th last, Manchurian Railways stocks suddenly dropped because of the rumors of the Manchurian Expedition, and I think the center of it is the Osaka area." So, I thought that they are already spreading such propaganda around.

That evening, Saburo INOUYE came over: "I came here secretly tonight. It seems as if the Home Affairs Minister issued instructions to the police of the entire nation to the effect that, 'If Army men should deliver addresses on the matter of the foreign policy of the government at any time or

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any place, strict control must be maintained over them.'

"However, military matters have been handled by the Kempei until now, and since the Army is very aggravated over the political parties at present, something must be done or the situation will become very critical. The government must do something about this or it may lead to grave consequences in the future."

I believed that the anxieties of INOUYE were justifiable and I immediately went to visit the Premier at his official residence at about nine that evening.

I spoke with the Premier of this matter and he said: "I had the War Minister come over this morning at ten, and spoke with him at first on business matters. In the midst of this, I altered the pattern and said. 'The reason I asked your Excellency to come here today is that I wished to lay open my heart and speak with you frankly because I am very greatly worried over the state of our nation. I am speaking with the spirit of serving the nation. First of all, there are many regrettable points in the actions of the Army recently. There is an Air Treaty and Regulations of the Kwantung Government-General concerning such happenings as the pursuit of Yen Hsi-shan by the use of Army planes by the order of the Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army.

'I don't know what actions the Kwantung Government-General will take concerning this incident which was carried out in disregard of this Treaty

and Regulations, but they may be punished according to the laws of the Kwantung Government-General. In any case, it is very regrettable that man such as the Chief of Staff who are in such important positions commit such actions.

"It seems as if the incident of assistance to the Forces of SHIH YU-SAN is a reality. DOIHARA aided SHIH YU-SAN and DOIHARA has been called back to Mukden.

"Recently, the commanders of the Army in the districts, such as the Regimental District Commanders, Regimental Commanders and Divisional Commanders, have discusses the Manchuria-Mongolia matter, and are vigorously spreading such things as the dispatching of a Manchuria Expedition or the destruction of China.

"The present policy is to continue friendly relations with China. The Emperor even said to me a few days ago that I was to continue friendly relations with China in the Manchuria-Mongolia affair. I replied that I would always continue with such a policy.

"If, at any rate, Japan should have her rights encroached upon, or advance justly, and should receive any resistance from China or if China should disregard Japan entirely, then Japan may have to take up arms against China. However, that would be the last resort, and if we should indiscriminantly show force now, it may prove to be the basis of a blunder. We must be prepared to take this step when the situation calls for it, but since the keynote of our Empire's China Policy is to continue our

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friendly relations with her, we must keep this in mind. It would be too bad should these rumors of attacking China or that the Manchuria-Mongolia matter is approaching a crisis reach the people and give rise to any regrettable issues from the standpoint of our foreign policy.

"In view of these facts, I hope that your Excellency will exert more effort along the line of maintenance of discipline. I ask Your Excellency this because I had wanted to alleviate this extremely serious situation with the aid of Your Excellency."

"I went on further: "The most regrettable thing is the coup d'etat planned during the session of around March 20. That is, did you know of the fact that they planned to carry [illegible], etc.?"

"The War Minister replied: "I heard about it 10 days after I assumed office and I immediately asked former Minister UGAKI of it, and he answered that such was not the case. He gave a very vague answer." The War Minister related this incident very amusedly.

"I then said: "This is a very serious situation. Will Your Excellency please think this matter over at your discretion."

"The War Minister replied: "The [illegible] is very skillful in handling the newspapers. The Army thinks that they are being pressed by such things as having the Army being declared as useless. Therefore this matter of complaints from within the Army is because of the attitude of the press and

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the political parties."

"The War Minister said this in a retaliatory manner, so I said: "Disarmament does not necessarily mean that national defense is unimportant. Today's international situation is completely different from that of the days prior to the great war and since national defense is a correlative thing, it must also change in conformity with the changes in the environment. The China and the Russia of past days is gone. When the trend does not indicate such things, Japan has gladly participated in Naval Disarmament, and the necessity today is for the state to alter its course to more productive directions such as the alleviation of the people's financial debts. I would like to have Your Excellency think these matters over also.""

Thereupon, I (HANDA) said: "What I wanted to ask in particular tonight was about the fact that the Home Minister had issued instructions to the police that strict measures must be taken in the event army men took action on the matter of the government's foreign policy. However, since the Army is very aggrevated over the political parties, and should there be a collision of these two groups, it would leave an irreparable situation, we should leave the control of the Army up to the Kempei. INOUE came and said that such measures would not be so drastic. I thought that it would be better if I rushed the matter so I came this evening."

The Premier answered: "I understand very well."

The reason for this was that the War Minister had told the Premier that the information coming

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to the Premier was from the police. The Premier had said that it was not from the police, but from a very reliable source.

The Premier went on: "I am very concerned over ADACHI."

I asked him why and he answered: "I thought that this matter concerning UGAKI was very important, so I spoke of this once with the Home Minister. I believe that the Home Minister immediately gave his instructions to the police. I do not wish him to do these things, but I am very worried because such things are not understood.

I went to Gotemba on the 22nd, and I told the Prince all about the talk that the Premier had with the War Minister.

The Prince said:"Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal MAKINO came to see me the day before yesterday and said that there had been a young officer, he did not know who, who had directly approached the train of Prince CHICHIBU when His Highness was departing for somewhere, and asked him to become their figure-head. The words of MAKINO were; 'Of course, His Highness would have nothing to do with it, and did you know about it?'

"It seems as if KIDO explained the matter of the Privy Council rather well, for the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal seemed well aware of everything and said: 'I will not commit any acts against the government.'

"Thereupon, I said: 'It would serve to worry the Premier if people in our position should make

such statements, so it would be better if we remained reserved and quiet. Even in the matter of the Privy Council, if we should say that this would be better today, we cannot tell how situations will affect this and on the contrary, make matters worse. We cannot possibly say what is good or bad unless we have investigated the matter thoroughly."

"The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal seemed to understand and said that everything was as I had said.

"I further told him: 'I could have asked HARADA to come, but the reason I had KIDO come was because I thought that it would be better if it was someone under you, and not you, yourself. That is why I called your Chief Secretary. Please don't think ill of me.' And I apologized to him."

On the 23rd, I went to Hakone and stopped over. On the morning of the 24th, I returned and when I met the Premier, I spoke to him about the report I had made to the Prince and also mentioned what the Prince had said concerning the matter of the Privy Council and what he had said to the Home Minister.

The Premier then said: "The political parties do not agree on the abolition and amalgamation of the Ministries. The opposition of the three Ministers is not a serious matter, but opposition within the parties seems to be very strong. We must give this matter consideration because there seems to be little favor among the people to bring this rearrangement around. There is no reason

to go out of the way to deal with this matter. How this will be done will not affect the fate of our nation. Since this is a very emotionally delicate problem, I believe that it would be simpler to have them make some sort of plan. However, from my present standpoint, I will not venture to say yes or no. If I give my approval to one side, then the other would be offended, so I am just seeing how things go along.

"After the return of the Emperor to Tokyo on the 25th, I am to meet with ESI, ADACHI and UNOUYE. I believe that haste is advisable but ESI and the others are not hurrying.

"Concerning the story of the War Minister of the other day, it seems as if the War Minister talked of business matters on his return to the Ministry, but it also seems that he is keeping what he said about military discipline to himself and not saying anything about it."

The Premier also said: "The Chief of Police came over and said: 'It is very heartening to know that public opinion supports the prosecution of the ruffians.'"

Later, the Chief of the Asia Bureau said: "The Army is attempting to use the killing of Captain NAKAMURA in Mongolia as a tool for the solution of the Manchuria-Mongolia matter by enlarging its importance. It is very troublesome."

I returned to Hakone and met Railway Minister ECI and mentioned these things to him. He said: "I did not know anything about it but War Minister MINAMI came to Hakone yesterday and

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told me all about it.

"At that time, I asked him: "The discipline of the Army today is very confused. Just what does Your Excellency think about the bomb incident of UGAKI? It is outrageious to speak of such things as an expedition to Manchuria-Mongolia, etc. because the troops are the Emperor's and it is unthinkable to move them without an Imperial Order. Just what is your opinion on this?"

"I probed here and there, but the Minister only made very obscure replies on the matter of UGAKI. It is a very troublesome thing." He also gave me a present for the Prince.

I stopped at Hakone that night and went to Gotemba the next morning and reported the talks I had with the Premier and Railways Minister EGI. I returned to Tokyo via Hakone.

At about 2:00 P.M. of the 26th, I had an urgent call from KIDO and he said that former Premier HAMAGUCHI was in a very critical condition. I immediately called Gotemba and reported this situation. I was planning to go to visit the former Premier when there was a call from the Premier's official residence that former Premier HAMAGUCHI had finally passed away at 3:05. I immediately left for the residence of former Premier HAMAGUCHI to offer my condolences.

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 9
(4 September 1931)

Army Reorganization and the Budget

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

Saburo INOUYE came over on the 30th and said:

"The War Minister called in the two devoted friends, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, KOISO and Chief of the Military Affairs Section, NAKATA recently, and it appeared that he meant to incite them by saying: 'The other day, the Premier questioned me concerning the matter of the coup d'etat and I threatened him by admitting that such things happen due to the faults of the political parties of today, and that perhaps such incidents may occur again.'

"When the War Minister met the Premier recently, he agreed with the views of the Premier, but he did not mention anything specific concerning the Army. It seems that although he complied obediently, he returned to the Ministry and seemed to have said very provocative things. It is very disgraceful that although he is on the same Cabinet, he is two-faced and confronts members of the Cabinet antagonistically. It is very irritating because he resorts to such petty tricks."

The situation within the Army became more tense and in the matter of the readjustment of military administration which had once been settled between the War Minister and Finance Minister, INOUYE, the War Minister received opposition from the Chiefs of the Military

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Affairs and Intendancé Bureaus, and being unable to restrain them, had brought about the situation that he wanted to make a new arrangement with the Finance Minister. This matter appears as if it was part of a plan.

It seems as if they are attempting to overthrow the Cabinet according to the failure of the budget because the matter of the budget and this problem are indivisible. If this was not possible, they would advocate Lt. Gen. Iwane MATSUI for the post of Representative Plenipotentiary to the Disarmament Conference and disrupt the cooperation of the outsider at the post. If not, they would intensify the strong attitude toward the Manchuria-Mongolia matter and make a diversionary move.

At any rate, there is great dissatisfaction over the present political situation and great care must be taken because there is no telling what will happen at any moment because of the uncontrollable Army.

It seems as if the SHUMEI OKAWA faction is still resorting to varicus tricks to involve Prince CHICHIBU.

It seems as if there are movements to aggravate the situation between the Army and the Foreign Ministry and to widen the gap between them and finally, to ruin the Cabinet. Furthermore, the Kempei have passed on to the Army the story that the Foreign Minister had requested the Home Minister to have the police intervene

if Army speakers should criticize the foreign policy of the government.

The Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau had become enraged at this, and had called up Chief of the Asia Bureau, TANI to confirm the truth of the report. TANI also became indignant and said: "That is all pure fabrication. If you are going to believe such things, I will have nothing to do with you!"

When I was in the room of the Chief of the Asie Bureau, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, KOISO came in and spoke of this matter again and presented the document. Thereupon, I said: "They are just making you jump, that's all."

I had some business with the Foreign Minister and I spoke with him about this matter.

The Foreign Minister said: "Of course, I do not know anything about it. However, we must trace the source of the story."

Later, I went to meet the Premier and spoke with him on this matter. He called in the Home Minister and asked him whether there was anything in the instructions he had given the police the other day which pertained to cautioning against the speeches of the Army. The Home Minister said that he had no such memory.

Recently, when War Minister UGAKI was resting at the villa of NOROTO, there had been an incident where the police had threatened to intervene. Such incidents are surely not the

work of Home Minister ADACHI; however, this situation is very disagreeable because there are people who know that relations between ADACHI and UGAKI are not very good who had surreptitiously perpetrated this incident.

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Chapter 10
(14 September 1931)

Army Indiscipline Increases

Translated by Lieut. Fujio F. Asano

On September 4, I met the Finance Minister, INOUE. He said: "The War Minister, MINAMI, on the whole, was in complete accord with me on the Army reorganization plan, and the matter was agreed upon between us. However, upon returning to the War Ministry, he was severely criticised by the Military Affairs Bureau Chief, KOISO, Kuniaki and the Intendance Section Chief for having agreed with me on the matter. Consequently, he returned to me later, and said: 'I previously agreed upon the matter with you, but I found it very difficult to have the members of the staff consent to my agreements with you....' For this reason, the matter has reverted to its starting point."

On the whole, the two (Premier and War Minister) had come to a general accord.

The Finance Minister desires the postponement of the year of commencement of the Army reorganization project. The year of completion of the project will be the same as originally planned, but by postponing the year of commencement, he plans somehow to cope with the financial difficulties involved.

This is the view point and demand of the Army on this matter:

"Cabinet changes are unpredictable; consequently, the Army fears that promises (for Army reorganization) made by a given Cabinet might be discarded by

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the succeeding Cabinet. Therefore, if possible, the Army wants the present Cabinet to execute this plan immediately."

The Army Reorganization plan is still in an unsettled state; therefore, the Finance Minister is quite concerned over the matter.

Later when I met Premier WAKATSUKI, he said:

"The War Minister wanted to make a public anncuncement of the Army Reorganization Plan, without implying that the Cabinet had given its consent to the plan. I gave tacit consent to the issuing of the statement with the understanding that it would state: 'The Cabinet has not yet agreed on such and such points, and has consented to such and such points of the plan.' This would leave no doubt in the mind of the public as to how the issue stands.

"Ambassador MATSUDAIRA has finally agreed to take the post of Plenipotentiary Representative to the Disarmament Conference; I'm very much pleased about this. The Army is saying that since MATSUDAIRA has been chosen Plenipotentiary Representative, there is no sense in sending an Army Representative, of great prestige. The Army has decided to send Lt. Gen. MATSUI, Iwane as Plenipotentiary Representative, with Maj. Gen. TATEKAWA, Yoshitsugu as his Aide-de-Camp. Vice-Chief MINOMIYA is skeptical of the fitness of Lt. Gen. MATSUI, Iwane to represent the Army at the Disarmament Conference."

Furthermore, the Premier said:

Army Indiscipline Increases

"I held a press conference a short while ago. Many newspaper reporters said: 'Readers are asking newspaper offices: Just when is the war going to start?'

"'What do you think about this? When will the war start?' the reporters asked.

"I replied: 'Don't jump to hasty conclusions on such serious matters. I want to be more prudent on such matters.'"

Furthermore, according to Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA:

"I heard this from young newspaper reporters who were summoned for an Army Reserves inspection recently. On that occasion, the Regimental Area Commander read a printed circular to the assembled reservists, explaining the sentiments and the attitude of the Army toward the Manchuria-Mongolia problem; he shouted to the young reservists agitatedly, intimating that war would break out in the near future. A young reservist, apparently a fish dealer, is said to have whispered: 'The Commander must have become demented.'"

When KONOE met MORI, Kaku recently at a golf course, MORI very indignantly said:

"It's an extremely outrageous fact that certain Army officers are saying: 'It's regretful that the present Emperor is a mediocre person.' I believe they say so because His Majesty doesn't give heed to what they say. This is unpardonable."

According to MORI:

Army Indiscipline Increases

"Recently extremely disturbing incidents have happened. Some Court Officials are inexcusable.

"I accompanied President (of Seiyu-Kai) INUKAI to Nasu (Tochigi Prefecture) to pay respects to the Emperor some time ago. Since I do not know the Grand Chamberlain, I requested NARA, the Emperor's Chief Aid-de-Camp, with whom I am intimately acquainted, to convey to the Emperor that we would like to pay our respects to Him. The Grand Chamberlain who was aware of our presence, did not bother to arrange an audience for us; he was extremely indifferent towards us. Presently, a Chamberlain came to us, conveying the wishes of the Emperor: 'His Majesty wishes to receive you in audience.' Thereupon, the Grand Chamberlain apologized profusedly for neglecting us.

"On the previous occasion (when the Emperor visited Nasu), the then Grand Chamberlain, CHINDA, obtained a personal audience with the Emperor for me, for the reason that I was a House of Representatives member from Tochigi prefecture. However, on this occasion I was not granted such a gracious honor (I.E. personal audience). This sort of negligence on the part of Court Officials is a matter of great anxiety; I'm going to study the functions and the functionaries of the Imperial Court."

The Premier called me on the 8th of September. He said:

"This is something I haven't told anyone — not even the Cabinet members. I want you to

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convey this solely to Prince SAIONJI. (What I want you to convey to SAIONJI is the fact that) EGI, Railway Minister, has informed me that he wants to resign, because, although his health is not bad, he doesn't seem to be able to regain weight after his recent illness. I consented to accept his resignation, because I thought it might facilitate solving difficult problems in the proposed amalgamation of Ministries (Railway & Communications). Probably Minister EGI felt that he wanted the amalgamation of Ministries effectuated by sacrificing himself. Confidentially, I want you to convey this matter solely to Prince SAIONJI."

On the morning of the same day I was called by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He requested:

"I want to hear the recent condition and circumstances of the Army."

I gave him the information he wanted.

I informed him (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) that we had decided to have KIDO go to Prince KAN-IN to inform him of the situation prevailing in the Army; we thought it would be a good idea to have Prince KAN-IN know about the conditions within the Army. To this, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said:

"I'm willing to go to Prince KAN-IN in place of Marquis KIDO; and to orient him (KAN-IN) myself regarding the matter."

We also talked about various other matters.

On my way home, I stopped at (Marquis) KIDO's and told him

"Should you happen to meet the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, please urge him to report the conditions within the Army, by all means, to Prince KAI-IN."

I then went to the Imperial Palace and met the Grand Chamberlain SUZUKI, I requested him to tell his younger brother, General SUZUKI Teiteo, member of the Board of Generals:

"Should you personally start a movement to consider and rectify the laxity of Army discipline it will influence other members of the Board of Generals and create a strong force for restoring Army discipline. Therefore, please give this matter serious consideration."

I also talked with him about conditions prevailing in the Privy Council, and returned home.

On the evening of the same day, I called on the Railways Minister, ABE. He said:

"Please tell Prince SAIONJI: 'I appreciate your (SAIONJI's) kind counsel given over a long period of time; I'm going to resign from my post (Railway Minister) for the purpose of recuperation.'"

I dined with Admiral OKADA at noon of the 9th at Kuwana (restaurant). After discussing current topics, I told him the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Premier had requested that should I see Prince SAIONJI in the near future, I tell him (SAIONJI) the following:

"Should the War Minister call on you, please tell the War Minister that you want him to consider seriously the problem of restoring military discipline in the Army."

I asked him (OKADA) what he thought about requesting Prince SAIONJI to admonish the War Minister. He answered:

"I believe it is best for him (SAIONJI) to say nothing about this matter to the War Minister. When Prince SAIONJI does admonish the War Minister, it must be in regard to matters of extreme importance. Should Prince SAIONJI now remonstrate with the Army, rumors will become rampant that the Prince is opposed to the policies of the Military. This would be on the same level as the Military, which would be undesirable. Should Prince SAIONJI feel constrained to say something, I think it would be best if he said nothing at all.

"There is nothing to worry about in the Navy. The Navy discipline is excellent: the entire Navy personnel will strictly obey the order of the Navy Minister. The Naval General Staff Chief has said that should the activities of the Army become too outrageous, he would resolutely expostulate with the Army.

"It would be desirable for the Premier (WAKATSUKI) to admonish the War Minister (MINAMI) more frequently. I don't think there is any grounds for the Premier to worry that the War Minister would resign for being reprimanded frequently by him. Therefore, I believe that if

the Premier censured the War Minister relentlessly, it would produce more desirable effects."

I related to Premier WAKATSUKI what Admiral OKAWA said to me. Consequently, the Premier called the War Minister (MINAMI) the following day and rather severely censured him.

The War Minister (MINAMI) told me he wanted to visit Prince SAIONJI on the 12th to report the recent development of the plan for Army Reorganization. The Premier said that he wanted to see Prince SAIONJI on the 13th. before he (SAIONJI) left for Kyoto on the 15th. Therefore, I went on the 11th to Gotemba to see Prince SAIONJI and reported to him in detail the request of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Premier, and what Admiral OKADA said about the matter.

Prince SAIONJI told me to convey the following words to the former Railway Minister (EGI):

"The life of a nation is very long: therefore, convalesce and recuperate; I anticipate the day when you will be able again to serve the country."

Prince SAIONJI was in complete accord with Admiral OKADA's opinion (about not censuring the Army); SAIONJI said:

"I don't think I should now severely expostulate with the Army. When I do expostulate with the Army, it must be at the most critical and decisive moment.

"As a Senior Statesman (Genro), I can on some convenient occasion tell the War Minister, 'Pay extra attention towards main-

taining Army discipline.' However, it would be best for me not to censure the laxity of Army discipline in details."

I returned home on the 11th. On the evening of the 12th, I dined with NINOMIYA, the Vice-Chief of the General Staff; MATSUMOTO, Social Welfare Bureau Chief, Home Ministry; MIDORO of Asahi Newspaper; KURODA, Hideo and MIYAKE, Shotaro at Yoshidaya (restaurant). The Vice-Chief of the General Staff stayed late; he was asked various questions.

The Vice-Chief of the General Staff apologized profusely for the so-called coup d'etat Incident. I didn't question him about this Incident; MIDORO of Asahi newspaper did the questioning.

According to what NINOMIYA, Vice-Chief of the General Staff said, I received the impression that he was a frequent visitor to Baron HIRANUMA; according to NINOMIYA, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, Baron HIRANUMA seems to be a firm advocator of severing diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. Moreover, it seems that he (NINOMIYA) has been well indoctrinated with Baron HIRANUMA's condemnation of political parties. I felt that this indicated that the relationship between the Army and Kokuhon-sha (ultra-nationalistic organization, headed by Baron HIRANUMA, banned by 4 Jan 1946 SCAP directive) was very intimate.

It seems that Lt. General MATSUI, Iwane was

not recommended by Vice-Chief of the General Staff, NINOMIYA to represent the Army at the forthcoming Disarmament Conference. Lt. Gen. NINOMIYA evidently wanted to send someone else. NINOMIYA said: "Lt. General MATSUI is unsuitable for he isn't very lively and alert."

NINOMIYA had Major General TAKEKAWA, Yoshitsugu accompany MATSUI as his Aide-de-Camp in order to bolster him (MATSUI). NINOMIYA calumniated the Foreign Office. I felt that he was extremely worried over the coup d'etat incident.

NINOMIYA said:

"Please come to the General Staff Headquarters on the morning of September 14th. I want Prince SAIONJI to see the material on which I based a lecture to the Emperor concerning the Manchuria-Mongolia Problems. Please come and get them.

I personally wanted to see the material myself, so I promised to go to his office to get them. We parted late that night.

On the 12th, en-route on a trip, the Imperial Household Minister stopped at Gotemba to see Prince SAIONJI unexpectedly. This happened immediately prior to the War Minister's visit to Prince SAIONJI the same day. Consequently, by the evening of the same day, rumor had spread that, "The Imperial Household Minister is going to resign." I received frequent telephone calls from newspaper reporters in-

quiring about the matter. I denied the rumor.

The fact that the Army wants to have the high Court Officials close to the Emperor -- the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Imperial Household Minister -- shifted from their posts under any pretext has become starkly obvious.